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## II.—*Studies in Cymric Philology.*

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In preparing the series of philological notes of which this paper is a continuation, it is not my plan to arrange them methodically, or according to connection of subject, but rather to discuss each question as it occurs, or whenever sufficient data for its discussion have been found.

### XXI.

In the earliest examples of Welsh writing, there is a remarkable fluctuation, in many words, between *o*, *e*, and *i*. This I venture to explain by saying that in the early unsettled orthography each of these letters, besides its usual sound as in Latin, was made to represent a sound for which the Latin alphabet had no distinctive character; I mean the neutral vowel either pure or in some of its modifications, in other words, something of the class known as obscure vowels. In support of this view I observe that from some time in the thirteenth century on we find *y* regularly replacing *o*, *e*, and *i* in these cases of fluctuation, and that it is in precisely these cases that *y* has its obscure sound in modern Welsh.

In the Oxford and Cambridge glosses *i* occurs most frequently in the places now occupied by the obscure *y*, though there are many examples of *e* and *o*. In the Luxemburg glosses *o* is generally found in such places. In the Venedotian Laws *e* decidedly predominates. In the Black Book of Caermarthen *i* predominates in some pieces and *y* in others.

Examples: *bodin* in the glosses, *bedin* in the Laws (104), *bitin* in the Black Book (55), now *byddin*, army; *do-* and *di-* in the glosses, *de-*, rarely *do-*, in the Laws (2,124), *di-* and *dy-* in the Black Book (10), now *dy-*, synonymous with Latin *ad*; *con-* and *cen-* in the glosses, *ken* in the Laws (36), *cin-* and *cyn-* in the Black Book (4), now *cyn-*, equivalent to Latin *con*; *Ougen* and *Eugein* in *Chronicum Cambriae* (X and 9),

*Owein* in the Black Book (49), later *Ywain*, *Owen*; *Broce-niauc* and *Bricheniauc* in Chron. Camb. (13, 16), *Brecheniauc* in Annales Cambriae (32), now *Brycheiniog*, Brecknock; *Cīnan* in Chron. Camb. (12), *Kenan* and *Conanus* in Ann. Camb. (12, 32), later *Cynan*, a personal name; *Rodarcus* in Vita Merlini, *Rethere* in the Laws (104), *Ryderch* and *Ritech* (leg. *Riterch*) in the Black Book (19, 21), modern *Rhydderch*; etc. This fluctuation between *o*, *e*, and *i* (rarely *a* or *u*) can be illustrated at indefinite length, being in fact co-extensive with the prevalence of the obscure *y* in later orthography.

In modern Welsh *y* has two sounds. In final syllables, in most monosyllables, and in the diphthong *ŵy*, it has a slender sound like that of English *i* in *him*, not quite so slender as the Welsh *i* is sometimes heard. In other situations, with few exceptions, it has an obscure sound. This, as heard in most parts of Wales, is simply the neutral vowel; but in some districts it does not differ widely from the slender *y*, and yet may be said to approximate to the neutral vowel. Some have discarded the obscure sound of *y* and held that it is of very recent origin; but this is an egregious error.

The distinguished Edward Llyud carefully dotted the *y* in all those cases where it now has the obscure sound; and that it was the neutral vowel two centuries ago appears from his statement that *y* when dotted was to be pronounced "as the English *i* in the words *third*, *bird*; *o* in *honey*, *money*; *u* in *mud*, *must*" (Arch. Brit. 2).

In middle Welsh *y* had two sounds as now. One was a slender sound, for as such it attenuated a preceding *a*; thus *gelyn*, enemy, from *gal*, *gwledyd*, i. e. *gwledydd*, countries, from *gwlad*, etc. The other was an obscure sound, which obtained even in final syllables in cases where it is now suppressed in orthography, thus *gwaladyr*, ruler, modern *gwaladr*, *trwyadyl*, sprightly, modern *trwyadl* (Herg. 230). These words, and others of like endings, are derivatives; hence if *y* had been slender here it would, by a law of umlaut in Welsh, have attenuated the preceding *a*. It must be the neutral vowel, or something closely approximating to it, that *y* represents in

such middle Welsh examples as *aryf* for *arf*, arm, *dyragon* for *dragon*, dragon (Myv. I. 161), and *baryflwyd* for *barflwyd*, gray-bearded (Herg. 244). In verse *aryf* is a monosyllable, *baryflwyd* a dissyllable, etc.; the *y* in such cases being simply inserted to mark the quasi syllabification arising from the imperfect joining of two consonants, as if in English we should sometimes find *chasum* written for *chasm*. In such cases the neutral vowel, very short, is what we naturally hear. Again, in Codex B of Brut Gr. ab Arthur, which bears marks of the Demetian dialect, we find such spellings as *gyireu* for *geireu* (Myv. II. 258), *drygeu* for *dreigeu* (262), *kyissaw* for *keissaw* (271), *anyirif* for *aneirif* (334), etc. This singular diphthong, *yi*, is explained by the fact that in some parts of South Wales, at least, the *ei* in these words is still pronounced as if *e* represented the neutral vowel.

Add these indications to those before seen in the earlier orthography, and I think a high antiquity will be considered as fairly established for the neutral vowel in Welsh. In the oldest copy of the Laws the secondary office of representing it, as before stated, was assigned to *e*; but the slender *y* was already in use. This distinction of *y* and *e* coincided every where so exactly with the modern distinction between the two sounds of *y* as to afford one of the most striking illustrations of the slowness with which the Welsh language has changed for the last seven hundred years. Thus *tredyd* (60), third; *hyd* (286), hart, plural *hedhod* (38); *e dyn* (50), the man, plural *denyon* (18); *en llys* (10), in the palace; etc.

## XXII.

In the glosses we find *mogou*, i. e. *mongou*, modern *myngau*, plural of *mwng*, mane; also *lichou* (incorrectly printed *laichou* in the first edition of Zeuss), modern *llychau*, plural of *llwch*, lake, (*luch*, in Stevenson's Nennius, referred to the tenth century); also *creman*, modern *cryman*, reaping-hook, from *crum*, bent. Here we see the obscure *o*, *i*, and *e* replaced by the later *y* obscure; and it becomes apparent that in old Welsh, as now, the umlaut of *u* (*w*) was an obscure vowel, at least in cases where the first vowel of the added syllable was not slender.

XXIII.

The ingenious author of the Literature of the Kymry has unaccountably fallen into the error (453) of supposing that *dd*, as a sign for the infected *d* sound, was not in use before it was adopted by Dr. Davies, or until after 1620. By this error, which amounts to more than 200 years, he has widely misled himself and others in judging of the antiquity of certain MSS. As authority for his statement he refers to Llyud; but in justice to Llyud it should be noted that what he does say (Arch. Brit. 227) is that "*dd* was introduced to express this sound about the year 1400." In fact it had begun to be used somewhat earlier; for it appears in the Record of Carnarvon, which is authoritatively referred to the fourteenth century (Z. 139).

XXIV.

In Codex A of the Laws *dh* is not infrequently used for *th*, and sometimes also, as if by a confusion of the two sounds, for what is now *dd*. But as a distinctive character for the latter sound *dh* does not appear to have been used till modern times. William Salesbury in 1567 expressed a regret that it had not been adopted in preference to *dd*. Llyud tells us that "in the reign of Queen Elizabeth Dr. J. D. Rhys, Dr. D. Powel and others used *dh*, which was afterwards rejected by Dr. Davies and *dd* restored."

The supposed examples of this use of *dh* cited by Zeuss from the printed edition of the Mabinogion (with a query as to whether they are to be found in the MSS.) are all deceptive. They are *nodho*, *rodho*, *rodhom*, *rydhau*, *rydhaa*, *rydhaf*, *rydhaer*. In every one of these examples the *h* was intended by the scribe to be pronounced separately from the *d*. The first three belong to the present subjunctive, which, in middle Welsh, very commonly inserts *h* before the terminations (Z. 512); thus *nodho*, i. e. *nodd-ho*, modern *noddo*. The remaining four are parts of the same derivative verb in *-äü*, and all verbs of this class often insert *h* before the final *a* of the stem.

## XXV.

In the earliest Welsh MSS. *u* (or *v*) represents two vowel sounds. One was the sound of the modern English *oo*. To distinguish this a *v*, modified so as to resemble the figure 6, was introduced in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and this afterwards gave place to *w*. To express the other sound, *u* was retained. It was probably the sound of the modern French *u*. It came generally from primitive *ō* or *ū*; thus *dydd sul*, dies solis, *dydd llun*, dies lunae. In modern Welsh it does not differ from the slender *y*; but it would be contrary to the evidence to assume, as some have done, that the same thing was true in middle Welsh. For example, *punt* and *hynt* now rhyme perfectly; but the mediæval poets carefully kept *y* and *u* separate in their rhymes. Moreover *y*, as representing a slender sound closely approaching *i*, regularly attenuated a preceding radical *a*, but *u* did not produce this effect; thus *iachus*, healthful, *iechyd*, health, both from *iach*, healthy.

## XXVI.

Dr. Owen Pughe says we sometimes find *-i* in early writers as a termination of the third person singular, present (or future) indicative active. I have not found it. But of *-i* for the usual *-ei* (modern *-ai*) of the imperfect, I have found evident examples. Thus in the Gododin (B. An. 63), *Ni nodi nac ysgeth nac ysgwyd*, nor spear nor shield availed; in Gwalch mai (Myv. I. 198), *Amser ym ceri ef carwn Dafyd*, the while he loved me I loved David; in Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, a poet of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (ib. 272),

Wynepclawr, ditawr, dim ni weli,  
Pefychwys, tremwys, drwy uot Dewi.

Blank-faced, dispirited, he nothing saw,  
He brightened, he had his sight, by the will of Dewi.

This *-i* (which, by the way, is not given in Zeuss) naturally associates itself with the plural terminations, *-im*, *-ich*, *-int*, of this tense, often seen in the early poets instead of *-em*, *-ech*, *ent*.

## XXVII.

In the second edition of Zeuss an attempt is made to construe *nodi*, in the line just quoted from the Gododin, as infinitive. The passage is further complicated by connecting it in construction with the next two lines, which really form an independent sentence. They are as follows :

Ny ellir anet ry vaethpwyt  
Rac ergyt catvannan catwyt.

In *vaethpwyt* we have an example of the provection of the mediæ after strong consonants, which I pointed out in Art. XI., *pwyt* being for *bwyt*, food. *Catwyt* is not the perfect passive, as it has been rendered, but another form of the infinitive, of *catw* (modern *cadw*, to keep, to defend) after the analogy of *dywedyd*, *dychwelyd*, etc. I find many instances where *catwyt*, or *cadwyd*, is unquestionably used as infinitive ; take the following from Einion Wan (Myv. I. 335), a poet of the first half of the thirteenth century : *roi e wann yw e annwyt, a rac pob cadarn catwyt*, it is his nature to give to the weak, and to defend him against every one that is strong. This being premised, the construction of the above somewhat vexed passage becomes perfectly simple and idiomatic : *ni ellir cadw annedd rhy vaethwyyd rhag ergyd catvannan* ; it is not possible to defend a too festive house from the blow of *catvannan*.

I have left *catvannan* here untranslated, because its meaning is hardly settled. The word occurs three times in the Gododin, but is found nowhere else. In some of the MSS. it is written, in each case, *catvannau* or *cadfannau*, as if it were the plural of *cadfan* ; but this word also is unknown elsewhere, except as a personal name. It is usually defined as "warrior," while *catvannan* has been rendered "warlike tumult." But without the initial inflection should we not have *cat Mannan* and *cat Mannaw*? Now *Manann* was the Gaelic and *Manaw* the Welsh name for a district at or near which the battle of Catraeth here described was fought, as well shown by Skene. It is the *Manau Guotodin* (Manaw Gododin) of Nennius. I think, therefore, we should translate thus : 'it is not possible to defend a too festive house from the blow of the host of Manann (or Manaw).'

I know that *cad* usually means battle; but, like the Irish *cath*, it also sometimes means, in the earliest Welsh, a host or array; thus in the Gododin: *gwyr a aeth Gatraeth yg cat yg gawr*, men went to Catraeth in array and with shouts.

## XXVIII.

It has been assumed that in the Latin *nona hora*, ninth hour (the designation of the hour ending near the middle of the afternoon), we have the originals of the two Welsh words *awr*, hour, and *nawn*, afternoon. But this would be contrary to historical laws; for primitive *ō* passed into Welsh *u*, and on the other hand Welsh *aw* came generally from primitive *ā*, sometimes from *av*. The Welsh form *awr* (*aur* in an old Welsh gloss) and the Cornish form *er* together point distinctly to *ār* as the ancient British form of this word.

As to *nawn*, it suggests the Sanskrit *navan*, nine. Dr. Aufrecht is said to have inferred that Welsh *naw*, nine, like its Sanskrit equivalent, must have ended in *n* from the fact that it often nasalizes the initial of the word following it. Do we not see this earlier Welsh form still preserved in *nawn*? This will explain the anomalous Armoric *naontek*, nineteen. The Welsh *prydawn*, afternoon-time, would thus mean, primarily, 'the time, or hour, of nine.' No doubt the Britons borrowed this mode of reckoning the hours from the Romans; but in doing so they would naturally use their own numerals.

We have an analogous case in *dawn*, gift, which is not from the Latin *donum*, for this should have given us *dun*, but indicates an original *dān*, with which we are to compare Irish *dān*, gift, and Sanskrit *dān*, gift.

## XXIX.

The Welsh have an historical tradition that the original British name of Pelagius, that by which his adopted Latin name was suggested, was a word signifying "sea-born," and that in fact the name was Morgan. In this precise form the legend involves an inconsistency, which I wonder the acute Price, in writing his History of Wales, did not see and point out. The old Welsh form of *Morgan* was *Morcant* (Chron.



Camb. 8), which could not mean "sea-born." But if we search among the known old Welsh names for one which admits of this meaning, we shall find it in *Morgen*. Now *Morgen*, in the transition to middle Welsh, not later than the eleventh century, would become disguised as *Morien*. If, then, we can find, in early writers, a *Morien* commemorated whose history may be shown to conform, in distinctive points, to that of Pelagius, we shall have a remarkable proof of the antiquity of the tradition; for it must ascend to the period when *Morien* was *Morgen*, and suggested the meaning *sea-born*. Such proof is not wanting.

In a chronicle attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, published among the Iolo MSS., we are informed, under the date 380, that "about this period, Morien, the son of Argad the bard, flourished," that "the delusion of Morien (*hud Morien*) constituted one of the three ruinous delusions of the Island of Britain," and that through it "baptism and sacrifice ceased in Britain, where the whole population became unbaptized Jews." The reader of ecclesiastical history will see some exaggeration here, but he will hardly question that the "delusion of Morien" was the Pelagian heresy, especially after reading, a little further on, the following conclusive statement: "In 425 St. Germanus came from Gaul, with St. Lupus, to Britain, to renew baptism, sacrifice, and a right belief in Christianity, which had fallen into decay." It will be remembered that Germanus and Lupus were sent to Britain, by the bishops of Gaul, for the express purpose of resisting the Pelagian heresy, which had grown up in this interval, from 380 to 425.

### XXX.

The nasal infection of *t* after *n*, as in *hanner* for *hanter*, half, including also the simple disappearance of final *t* after *n*, as in *gan* for *cant*, with, took place chiefly in the transition from old to middle Welsh. In some points this change went on further, but in others it was arrested in the twelfth century, and notably in the verb-endings *-int* (or *-ynt*) and *-ant*. In the unquestioned productions of the twelfth and later centuries we very seldom find *-in* for *-int* or *-an* for *-ant*; but in a considerable

portion of the literature for which a higher antiquity is claimed these contractions are quite common. It is so in the Gododin; and at first view this would seem to show that its composition, or that of some portions of it, could not be referred with much probability to a more remote period than the eleventh century. But on examining the examples in their connections I find evidence leading to the opposite conclusion.

I find that in all the cases where verbs with these contracted terminations occur at the end of lines, seventeen cases in all, they are made to rhyme with one another or with other parts of speech in which final *t* after *n* has likewise disappeared. I find that *-an* and *-in* (or *-yn*), where they are neither verb-endings nor contractions, occur at the end of lines over one hundred and twenty times. Now, where the number is so large, why should not an occasional verb in *-an'* or *-in'* be found rhyming with them? The natural conclusion is that the poem was composed when *-in* for *-int* and *-an* for *-ant* were yet uncommon if not unknown, that where these contractions occur in it they are due to the hands of scribes who copied after this kind of nasal infection had become popular, that is, in the eleventh century.

It is necessary to examine two particular examples which may at first sight look doubtful.

One stanza of the Gododin, numbered LXXXII. by the translator in Skene, begins thus:—

Ef gwrthodes tres tra gwyar llynn,  
Ef lladei val deur dull ny techyn.  
He repelled attack over a pool of blood,  
He smote like a hero such as yielded not.

Here a verb in *-in'* rhymes with the substantive *llynn*. Now if among so very large a number of examples in point we should find one real exception, it would necessarily show nothing more than what we knew before, namely, that in old Welsh there were already certain beginnings of the nasal infection. Really, however, there is no exception. The earlier form of *llynn*, pool, liquid, (though it is *linn* in Nennius) must have been *lint*; compare Irish *lind* (Stokes' Irish Glosses, p. 58). This conforms to the analogy by which Welsh *plant*, children, is Irish *cland*, tribe.

Two of the stanzas of the Gododin, numbered LXXVIII. and LXXXIX., are so much alike in every line except one that they must be considered as two versions of the same original. The text of the former is in several places corrupt, utterly so in the third line; and I therefore give the other:—

Gueleys y dull o bentir a doyn,  
Aberthach coelkerth a emdygyn;  
Gueleys y deu oc eu tre (re) ry gwydyn  
O eir nwython ry godessyn;  
Gueleys y wyr tylluawr gan waur a doyn,  
A phenn dyuynwal vrych, brein ao knoyn.

In all the translations I have seen, the *a doyn* at the end of the first line (rhyming with verbs in *-yn'*) is considered a local name, Adoyn. But I think there can be no reasonable doubt that it is simply a relative clause for *a doynt*, 'that came.' I translate as follows:—

I saw the array that came from Cantyre,  
It was as victims for the sacrifice they brought themselves;  
I saw the two who fell apart from their tribe,  
Who by the command of Necton had offended;  
I saw men with great wounds who had come with the morn,  
And the head of Domhnal Brec—the ravens were biting it.

From the third line I cast out *re*, which seems to be repeated, in later spelling, in the verbal particle *ry* (here, as often, used with a relative force), and, indeed, *re* does not appear in most of the MSS. In respect to the use of *tre* (i. e. *tref*, old Welsh *treb*) in the sense of tribe, see, in the Book of Taliesin (206), the example *deuddec tref yr Israel*, the twelve tribes of Israel, also compare Irish *treabh*, tribe.

In the fifth line, *y*, after *gueleys*, is evidently the pronoun *i*.

Mr. Stokes accepts Price's identification of Dyvnwal Vrych with Domhnal Brec, or, as the name was written later, Donald Brec. I therefore wonder that, with his quick eye for Northern localities, he does not discover Cantyre (*cenn tire*), of which peninsula Domhnal Brec was king, in the equivalent Welsh name *Pentir*, 'head of land,' seen, with initial inflection, in the above stanza. Instead of that he proceeds to locate "the height of Adoyn," which he finds in a Dun or Down!